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## THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE NATION IN PREPARATION FOR WAR

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**I**T is appropriate that we should confer upon what may be called the most prominent manifestation of America's response to the stimulus of the world's war. Prior to the breaking-out of the war, we had concerned ourselves for a great many years with purely economic and industrial questions. A nation-wide referendum would probably have shown nine out of ten of all our people living in a convinced optimism as to the impossibility of a world war. We had uneasy questionings about the recall of judges; there was much agitation about the initiative and referendum: we were quite sure that our financial system needed readjustment; we are awakening to a realization that the sources of our national strength were being sapped by our inattention to the depressing effects of modern industry unrestrained by wise laws and regulations. But to these things we gave thought only as matters to which we should attend. Our prevailing state of mind was that in America there was a spontaneous, upward tendency; that the wheels creaked, but we got forward; that we were teaching our acres how to yield larger crops, our factories how to make a larger output, and gradually elevating and educating the whole plane of our life. We knew that we were growing rich, and we were not selfish about it. We saw that our friends across the sea were rivals in commerce and in industry who summoned the best in us to competition.

And then the war came, taking away the foundations of all our thinking, substituting horror and dread where complacency had once been. We began asking ourselves: Is there any fortification against this disaster? When nations have reached the very pinnacle of human achievement in philosophy, invention, industrial organization, and in the arts and graces of life,

are they still on the verge of this precipice? When we asked it of others, we came to ask it of ourselves, and there grew up in America, when the first shock was over and our ability to think was restored, the question: Are we prepared should our turn come to whirl in this fearful vortex? I do not mean to engage in the present European war, but I mean that questions arose in the minds of thoughtful men everywhere as to whether America was prepared.

At first, this question revolved around mere military preparation in the narrowest sense—the number, weight and armament of our ships, the length of the guns of our coast defenses, the amount of ammunition of various kinds in store, the number of trained men to officer impromptu armies. But, as the war developed in Europe, we learned that these things are but a part of preparation, and a relatively useless part, unless they are based upon other things very much more difficult to secure; things which must be secured long in advance of a crisis or else be then obtainable only with peril and fearful unnecessary loss. We have witnessed the nations of Europe preparing as they fought and have come to realize that, perhaps, the most important kind of preparedness is a kind which is equally available and useful in times of peace, and which, if secured, will not only render our military preparation more effective but will steady and strengthen and inspire the nation when engaged in peaceful pursuits.

Three-fold mobilization is necessary in any country for war, and of these three elements, two are as valuable and as vital in times of peace as in times of conflict.

In the first place, there must be, of course, arms and soldiers, ships and sailors, and these must be modern and adequate. The art of war has both developed and changed. A fourth and fifth arm, air-craft and the submarine, have been added. No nation can with justice summon embattled farmers with the rude firearms which were adequate a few decades ago. Regimentation, discipline and knowledge are more important than they used to be. The masses and the maneuvers are on a more intricate and difficult scale. On this subject, however, I need say but little. Congress is at present legislating upon it, and

whatever be the outcome of its deliberations, the executive branch of the government will act in sympathetic coöperation, using what is given with a view to making it the best, and I may incidentally say that throughout the whole country there is an inspiring response to the country's military needs. Young men in college, young men in business, at the bench and in the professions are associating themselves for training in a fine democratic and enthusiastic way, making sure that should the need come there will be in the country a reserve body ready to respond and able to bring more than mere bodies for bullets, by reason of the fact that they have learned in camp and armory to act in concert and under command to defend the country.

The second mobilization necessary is that of our industries and commerce. The war in Europe had been under way more than a year before some of the countries were able to equip the men who volunteered for their armies. With all the zeal which their governments could display, the mobilization of their industries yet lagged, not from unwillingness but from lack of forethought. Perhaps, no other lesson of the war in Europe is so impressive as its universality. In the warring countries this war and its demands sit at the table of every family from that of the King to that of the peasant. Each is contributing his share, each is suffering his loss. The farmer is no longer growing grain merely to sell, but for the national welfare. The railroads are no longer carrying passengers or freight merely for hire, but for national defense. The soldier is no longer a tradesman in war, but is a part of that large regiment which includes his entire country, and in which each man is assigned a necessary part. So in America, if the test ever comes, the army in the field will be merely the advance guard resting on a mobilized, patriotic, industrial coördination. Back of it will be every factory and every workshop, every bank and every farm, and this industrial coördination is as valuable to us in peace as it is in war. We now have the impulse and the opportunity to give to our daily life a national purpose. Every occupation in America now takes on a patriotic aspect. It is not merely a means of gaining a livelihood, but a contribution to the common interest. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that we

should know what our reliance is, that careful, continuous, scientific studies should be made of our industrial and commercial capacity and adaptation, that we should card-index our industrial strength, so that we can know it and summon it into instant coöperation when needed. And very much more than that, we must gain this knowledge and arrange for this coöperation in such a fashion as to take away from it all profit in war.

If the hour of trial should ever come, there must be no war stocks, no "war brides", no war fortunes made out of the national danger. Nor must there be built up in America any interest which could even be suspected of preparing to profit by the creation of a national emergency. And this is not difficult to do. Business in America is patriotic. There is already inbred into it a desire to set America's name before the world as a symbol of success and fair-dealing, and I have not the least doubt that every manufacturing plant in this country could be so related to a central bureau of the government that its special usefulness in time of need would be known in advance, its wheels all ready to turn in response to the nation's need, and its proprietors willing to forgo any speculative or war profits while they made their contribution in common with the rest of the people in the country towards the preservation of the nation. Already men of large affairs are devoting their time without compensation to an analysis of the country's industrial situation and its adaptation to such a mobilization as would be necessary in time of danger. Intricate, scientific and valuable studies are being made, and their continuance by the government in an authorized, consecutive and complete way is all that needs to be done.

The third mobilization that is necessary is spiritual. In order to make sacrifices for America, we must be sure that our stake in the country justifies it. Our institutions must be so just, our arrangements so fair that every man in this nation will realize how completely his opportunity and that of those who come after him rests upon the continuing prosperity of the nation as a whole. It may well be that many of our economic problems have to be worked out by an attrition of interests, that we can-

not substitute any flash of enlightenment for the slower processes of an orderly working-out of interests among us. But our duty is to see that all of this is done with a due regard to the interest of the weakest among us. That the strong be not over-strong and the weak not too weak. That when the hour of trial really comes, the banker who has gold to protect, the captain of industry who has great mills in danger, will be joined by the workmen from the factory and the farmer from the field, with all lesser interests abated and all minor conflicts forgotten, with one sentiment animating them all, that the civilization, the liberty and the hope of America must be preserved and that the sacrifice of each in his order, in his place and according to his strength is justified by his stake in the country, wherever it may be.

The military mobilization will take place easily and need not be upon a magnificent scale in advance. The industrial and spiritual mobilization ought to be constant and as wide as the country. Both are useful—nay, indispensable—in peace as well as in war. Both add to our efficiency as a nation and both make for the progress which we attain as we grow older and wiser in our democratic experiment.